¶ The hurt of sedici= on howe greue= ous it is to a Commune welth.

M.ccccc.xlix.



nes, to beholde theyr seruauntes whē they were wrōcke, that by beholding their beastlynes, they myghte auoyde the lyke vyce, euen so hath God lyke a mercyfull father, stayed vs frō your wyckednes, that by beholdynge the filth of youre faute, we myghte iustly for offence, abhorre you lyke rebels, whome elles by nature, we loue lyke Englishmen. And so for oure selues, we haue greate cause to thanke God, by whose religion and holy word daily taughte vs, we learne, not onely to feare him truely, but also to obey our kinge faythfully, and to serue in our owne vocacion lyke subiectes honestlye. And as for you, we haue suerlye iust cause, to lament you as brethren, and yet iuster cause, to rise agaynste you as ennemies, and most iust cause to ouerthrowe you as rebelles. For what hurte could be done, other to vs priuatly, or to the hole cōmune welth generallye, that is now wt mischife so

brought

brought in by you, yeuē as we se now the flame of your rage, so shal we, necessarily be cōsumed here after wt the miserie of the same. Wherfore, cōsider your selues, wt some light of vnderstā dinge, & marke this greuous & horrible faute, which ye haue thus vily cōmitted, how hainous it must nedes appeare to you, if ye wyl reasonably consider y, which for my dutyes sake, and my hole countryes cause, I wil at this, preſēt, declare vnto you. Ye whiche be boūd by Goos worde, not to obey for feare, like mē pleasers, but for conscience sake like chriſtiās, haue cōtrari to gods holy wil, whose offence is euerlasting death, & cōtrari to y godly order of quietnes set out to vs, in y kinges Maiesties Lawes, y breach wherof, is not vnknowē to you take in hāde vncalled of god, vnsent by men, vnfit by reasō, to cast away your boūdē duties of obedience, & to put on you, agaynst

the mayestrates, goddes office committed to the magistrates for the reformacio of your pretented iniuries.

☞ In the whyche doynge, ye haue fyrst fauted greuously agaynst God, next offēded vnnaturally our Soueraigne Lorde, Thirdly troubled miserably the hole commune welth, vndone cruelly many an honest mā, and brought in an vtter misery both to vs the kynges Subiectes & to youre selues, beynge false rebelles, and yet ye pretende, that partelye for goddes cause, and partelye for the commune welthes sake, ye do a tyse. When as youre selues cannot deny, but ye that seke in word goddes cause, do breake in dede goddes commaundemēte, and ye that seke the commen welth, haue destroyed the commune welth, and so ye meane, that ye woulde make, and bycause that ye would a mend, bycause ye neyther seke anye thynge tyghtly, nor

noꝛ woulde amende anye thynge oꝛderly.

☞ He that fauteth, fauteth agaynste goddes oꝛdinaunce, who hath foꝛbidden all fautes, and theꝛefoꝛe ought againe to be punished by goddes oꝛdinaũce, who is the reformer of fautes. Foꝛ he sayeth, leaue the punishmente to me, and I wyl reuẽge thẽ. But the magistrate is the oꝛdinaunce of god, appoynted by hym wyth the swerde of punishemente, to loke strayghtlye to all euill doers, and theꝛefoꝛe, that, that is done by ỹ magystrate, is done by God, whom the scripture often tymes doeth call God, bycause he hathe the execution of Goddes office.

Howe then do you take in hande to reforme? Be ye kinges? by what authoꝛitie, oꝛ by what succession? Be ye the kinges officers? by what commission? be ye called of God? by what tokens declare ye that? Goddes woꝛde

teacheth vs, ỹ no man ſhould take in hand, any office, but he ỹ is called of God like Aaron. What Moyſes I praye you, called you? what gods mi-niſter bad you ryſe? ye riſe for religiõ, what religion taught you, that? If ye were offered perſecutiõ for religiõ, ye ought to flie. So chriſt teacheth you, and yet ye intend to fight, if ye would ſtande in the trueth, ye oughte to ſuf-fer like martirs, and you would ſley lyke tyrauntes. Thus for religion ye kepe no religion, and nother wol fol-lowe the councell of Chriſte, nor the conſtancye of martyrs, why riſe ye for religion? haue ye any thyng contrary to goddes boke? yea, haue ye not all thynges agreable to goddes worde? But the newe is differente from the olde, & therefore ye wyl haue the olde, if ye meaſure the olde by trueth, ye haue the eldeſt, if ye meaſure thold by phanſy, then it is hard, bycauſe mens phanſies chaungeth to gyue that is

old

olde, ye wyll haue tholde ſtill, wyll ye haue any elder, then that as Chriſte lefte, and his Appoſtles taughte, and the fyrſte churche after Chriſte dyd vſe? Ye wyll haue that the Cannons do eſtabliſhe. Why? that is a greate deale yonger, then that ye haue, of later tyme, and nulyer inuẽted, yet that is it, that ye deſier, why then, ye deſire not the oldeſt, and do you preferre the Byſhoppes of Rome, afore Chriſtemens inuentions afore goddes law, the newer ſorte of worſhip, before the elder? ye ſeke no religion, ye be deceyued, ye ſeke traditions. They that teach you, blynde you, that ſo inſtruct you If ye ſeke what the old doctours ſaye, yet loke what Chriſte the oldeſte of all ſayeth. For he ſayeth before Abraham was made I am, if ye ſeke the trueſt waye, he is the very trueth, if ye ſeke the redieſt waye, he is the verye waye, if ye ſeke euerlaſtynge lyfe,

he

he is the very life. What other religi-
on, would ye haue other nowe, thē his
religion: ye would haue the bybles in
agayne. It is no maruell, your blind
guides, woulde leade you blynde stil.
Why: be ye Houllates a backes, that
ye cannot looke on the lyght: Christe
sayth to euery one, serche ye the scrip-
tures, for thei beare witnes of Christ.
You saye pul in the scriptures, for we
wyll haue no knowledge of Christe.

The Appostles of Christe, wyl vs
to be so readye, that we maye be hable
to geue euery man an accompt of our
fayeth. Ye wyll vs not ones to rede
the scriptures, for feare of knowynge
of oure fayeth. Sayncte Paule pray-
eth that euerye man maye encreace in
knoweledge, ye desier that our know-
ledge might decay agayne. A true re-
ligion, ye seke by lyke, and worthy to
be fought for, for wythout the swerde
in dede nothynge can helpe it, nother

Christe

Chriſt, nor trueth, nor age can maintayne it. But why ſhoulde ye not like that, which Gods worde eſtabliſheth: the primitiue church, hath authorityſed, the greateſt learned me of this realme hath drawē, the hole cōſēt of the parliament hath confirmed, the kynges Mayeſtie hath ſet forth. Is it not truely ſet out: can ye deuyſe anye truer, then Chriſtes Apoſtles vſed: ye thyncke it is not learnedlye done. Dare ye commons, take vpon you more learnynge, then the choſen Byſhoppes and Clearkes of this realme haue: Thynke ye folly in it: Ye were wont to iudge your parliamente wyſeſt, and nowe wyll ye ſodenlye excell them in wyſdome: Or can ye thyncke it lacketh authoritye, which the king the parliamente, the learned, the wiſe, haue iuſtly approued: Learne, learne, to knowe thys one poynte of religion that God wylbe worſhypped, as he

hath

hath prescribed, and not as we haue deuised, and that his wyll is holye in hys scriptures, whiche be ful of gods spirite, and profitable to teache the trueth, to reproue lyes, to amend fautes, to bryng one vp in ryghtuousnes that he that is a goddes man, maye be perfecte, and redy to all good workes, what canne be more required, to serue God wyth all: And thus much for religion rebelles. The other rable of Norfolke rebelles, ye pretende a cō mon welth, howe amende ye it: by killynge of Gentilmen: by spoylynge of Gentilmen: by enprisonynge of Gentilmen: a meruelous tanned common welth, why should ye thus hate them: for their riches, or for their rule: Rule they neuer toke so muche in hande, as ye do nowe. They neuer resisted the kyng, neuer wyth stode his counsaile, be fayethfull at this daye, when ye be fayethles, not only to the King, whose sub=

subiectes ye be, but also to your lords whose tennaũtes, ye be. Is this your true dutie in sume of homage, in most of fealtie, in all of allegeans, to leaue your duties, go backe from your promises, fault from your fayeth, and cõtrary to lawe and trueth, to make vn lawfull assembles, vngodlye companyes, wycked and detestable campes, to disobey your betters, and to obeye your tanners, to chaunge youre obedience from a kynge to a kett, to submyt youre selues to traitoures, and breake your fayth, to your true king and lordes. Thei rule but by law, if other wyse the law, the Counsayle, the King, breaketh their rule, ye haue orderly sought no redres, but ye haue in tyme found it, in contreies, some must rule, some must obey, euery man may not beare lyke stroke, for euerye man is not lyke wyse, and they that haue sene moste, and beste habyll to beare

it

it, and of iust dealynge beside, be most fite to rule. It is an other matter to vnderstande a mans owne gricke, and to knowe the cõmõ welthes sore, and therefore, not they that knowe their owne case, as euery man doeth, but they that vnderstande the commen welthes state, oughte to haue in contreyes, the preferrmente of rulyng. If ye felte the payne that is ioyned wyth gouernaunce, as ye se and lyke the honoure, ye woulde not hurte o= theirs to rule them, but rather take greate payne to be ruled of theim. If ye had rule of the Kynges Mayestye cõmitted vnto you, it were well done ye had ruled the gentilmen, but nowe ye haue it not, and cannot beare there rule, it is to thynke the Kynges Ma= yestie folyshe, & vniust, that hath gy= uen certen rule to them. And seinge by the scripture, ye oughte not to speke euill to any Magistrate of the people,

why shoulde ye not only speake euyll of them whom the kynges mayestye hath put in office, but also iudge euyll of the kyng him selfe, and thus seditiously in felde to stande wyth youre swerdes drawen agaynste hym.

If riches offed you, bycause ye would haue the lyke, then thyncke that to be no commen welth, but enuie to the cõmen welth. Enuye it is, to appaire an other mannes estate, wythout the amendement of youre owne, & to haue no Gentylmen, bycause ye be none youre selues, is to bringe downe an estate, and to mende none. Woulde ye haue all a lyke riche? that is the ouerthrowe of laboure, and vtter decaye of worke in thys realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idell, shall by lust wythout ryghte, take what hym lust from hym, vnder pretence of equalitie wyth hym. Thys is the bringinge in of Idlenes

dlenes, which destroieth the commen welth and not the amendement of labour, that mayntayneth the commen welthes, if there should be such equalitie, then ye take all hope away from poures, to come to anye better estate, then you nowe leue them. And as many mens chyldren commeth honestly vp, and is greate succoure to all their stocke, so shoulde none be hereafter holpen by you, but bycause ye seke equalitie, whereby all cannot be riche, ye woulde that by lyke, whereby euerye man should be pooze, and thinke bilide, that ryches and inheritaunce be goddes prouidence, and gyuen to whom of hys wysdome, he thyncketh good. To the honest, foz the encreace of their godlines, to the wycked foz the heapyng vp of their damnaciō, to the simple, foz a recompence of other lackes, to the wise, foz the greater lettyng out of Gods goodnes, why wyl

youre wysdome nowe stoppe goddes wisdome, and prouide by your lawes that God shal not enrich them, whom he hath by prudence, appoynted as him liketh. God hath made the poore, and hath made them to be poore, that he myght shew his might, and set thē a lofte whē he listeth, for such cause as to hym semeth, and plucke downe the riche, to hys state of pouertie, to shew his power, as he disposeth to order them. Why do not we thē being poore bere it wisely, rather then by lust, seke ryches vniustly? And shewe oure selues contented with gods ordinaunce, whych we must other wyllyngely obey, and then the wyse, or els we must vnprofitably striue wyth all, and thē we be madde.

☞ But what meane ye, by this equalitie in the comune welth? If one be wiser then an other, wyl ye bannyshe him, because ye entende an equalitye

of al thinges: If one be stronger the anot her, wyll ye slepe him because ye seke an equalitie of all thynges: If one be wel fauorder the an other, wyl ye punish hym because ye loke for an equalitie of al thynges: If one haue better vtteraunce then an other, wyll ye pul out hys tonge to saue youre equality: And if one be rycher then an other, wil ye spoile him to mayntaine an equalitye: If one be elder then an other, wyl ye kyll hym for thys equalitys sake: Howe iniurious be ye to God hym selfe, who entendeth to bestow his giftes, as he him selfe listeth and ye seke by wicked insurrections, to make him gyue them communly a lyke to al men, as your vaine phansy lyketh. Why would ye haue an equalitye in ryches, and in other gyftes of God, ther is no meane sought. Other by ambytion ye seke lordlynes, much vnfit for you, or by couetousnes ye

be

be vnsatiable, a thing likely inoughe in ye, or els by folly ye be not content wyth youre estate, a phãsy to be plucked out of you.

☞But & we beyng wery of pouertye woulde seke to enrych our selues, we shold go a far otherway to worke thẽ this, and so shuld we rightly come to our desire. Doth not S. Peter teach vs a fore god a rightway to honore, to riches, to al necessary, & profitable thinges for vs? He sayth humble your selues, that god might exalt you & caste al your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the way, to all good thinges, at goddes hãd, is to humble, and you exalte youre selues. Ye seke thinges after such a sort, as if the seruaũt shuld anger hys master, whẽ he seketh to haue a good turne on hym. Ye woulde haue ryches, I thynke at goddes hand, who geueth al riches, & yet ye take the way cleane countrary

to riches. Know ye not that he that ex alteth him selfe, God will throwe him downe? How can ye get it thē, by thus setting out youre selues? Ye shoulde submitte ye by humilitie, one to an o= ther, & ye set vp your selues aboue the magistrates. Se herin how much ye offende God. Remebre ye not, that if ye come nyghe to God, he wyll come nyghe vnto you? If then ye go from God, he wyll go from you. Doth not the Psalme saye, he is holy wyth the holy, and with the wycked man he is froward. Euen as he is ordred of mē he wil order thē agayne. If ye would folow hys wyll, and obaye hys com= maūdemētes, ye shold eate the fruites of the earth sayth ỹ Prophet, if not, ỹ sword shal deuoure you. Ye myght haue eatē the fruites of this seasona= ble yere, if ye has not by disobedience, rebelled aginst god, now, not only ye cannot eate ỹ which youre selues dyd

first

firſt ſolue by labore, & now deſtroy by ſedition, but alſo if the kynges maieſties ſworde, came not againſt you, as iuſt policye requireth, yet the iuſt vēgeaunce of god would light amonge you, as his worde promiſeth, & youre cruel wyckednes deſerueth.

☞ For whatſoeuer the cauſes be, that hath moued youre wylde affections her in, as they be vniuſte cauſes, and encreaſe your faultes, much, the thing it ſelfe, the riſynge I meane, muſt nedes be wycked & horrible afore God, the vſurpynge, of authoritye, and takynge in hande of rule, whych is the ſyttynge in Goddes ſeate of iuſtyce, and a proude climynge vp in goddes highe throne, muſte nedes be not onely curſſed by hym, but hath alſo bene often punyſhed afore hym. And that whyche is done to goddes offycer, GOD accompteth it done to hym, for they diſpiſe not the miniſter

as

as he sayth hym selfe, but they despise hym, and that presumption of challengynge Goddes seate, doth shewe you to haue bene Lucifers, and sheweth vs, that god wyll punyshe you like Lucifers. Wherfore rightly loke as ye haue duely deserued, other for greate vengaunce, for your abhominable transgression, or els ernestly repente, wyth vnfayned myndes, youre wicked doinges, & other with exãple of death be contente to dehorte other, or els by faythfulnes of obedience declare, how great a seruice it is to god, to obey your magistrates faythfully and to serue in subiection truly.

☞ If authoritie woulde serue vnder a kynge, the counsayle haue greatest authoritye, if wisdome and grauytye myght take place, they be of most experience, if knowledge of the comune welth could helpe, they must by daily conference of matters vnderstande it

best

beste, yet nother the authoritye that the kynges maiestye haue geuen thē, nor the grauitye whyche you knowe to be in thē, nor the knowledge which wyth greate trauayle they haue gotten, can moue ye other to kepe you in that dutye, ye oughte to do, or to aduoyde thys greate disorder wherein ye be. For where disobediences is, thoughe, stoutnes, and sullennes is counted manhod, and stomakinge is corage, and pratynge is iuged wysdome, and the eluischest is most mete to rule, howe can other iuste authoritie be obeyed, or sad counsayle be folowed, or good knoweledge of matters be hearde, or commaundementes of counsaillers considered. And howe is the kynge obeyed, whose wyseste, be wythstanded, the disobedientes obeyed, he hyghe in authoritye not wayed, the vnskylfulleste made cheyfe Capitaynes to the Nobleste moste

hurte

hurte intended, the braggingest brau
ler to be moste sake. And euen as the
viler partes of the body, woulde con=
tend in knowledge and gouernement
wyth the fyue wyttes, so doeth the lo=
wer partes of the comuns weith, en=
terprise as hygh a matter, to striue a=
gaynst their duty of obedience to the
Counsaile. But what talke I of dis=
obedience so quietly, hath not suche
mad rages run in youre heades, that
for sakynge and brustynge the quyet
nes of the communs peace, ye haue
hainously and traitorously encamped
youre selfe in fielde, and there lyke a
byle in a body, naye lyke a sincke in a
towne, haue gathered together al the
nastye vagabundes, and idell loyte=
rers, to beare armour agaynste hym,
wyth whom all godly and good sub=
iectes wyl lyue and dye wyth al. If it
be a faulte when two fight together,
and the kynges peace broken, and pu=
nysh=

nyſhement to be ſought therefor, can it be but an outragious and a deteſtable micheife, when ſo manye rebels in nomber, malicious in mynde, myſchiefe uouſe in enterpryſe, fyght not among them ſelues, but agaynſte al the kynges true and obediente ſubiectes, and ſeke to proue whether rebellion may beate downe honeſty, and wyckednes may ouercome truth or no? If it be treaſon to ſpeke hainouſly of the kinges maieſtie, who is not hurte therby and the infamy returneth to the ſpeaker agayne, what kynde of outragious and horible treaſon is it, to aſſemble in campe an army agaynſte hym, and ſo not only entēd an ouerthrowe to hym, and alſo to hys cōmune welth but alſo to caſt hym into an infamye throughe al outward and ſtraunge nacions, and perſwade them that he is hated of hys people, whom he cannot rule, and that they be no better

then

thē vilians, which wyl not with good
orders be ruled. What death can be
deuised cruel inoughe for those rebel
les, who wyth trouble seketh death,
and can not quence the thrust of their
rebellion, but with the bloud of true
subiectes, and hateth the kinges mer
cyfull pardon, when they miserably
haue transgressed, and in suche an
outrage of mischeke, wyl not by stub=
bornes acknoweledge theym selues,
to haue sauted, but entēdeth to broile
that commune welth wyth the flame
of theyr treason, & asmuche as lieth in
them, not only to annoie them selues,
but to destroie al other. He ỹ is miscō
ted wyth thynges that happeneth, &
by cause he can not bere the misery of
them, rendeth hys heare, and teareth
his skin, & mangleth his face, whyche
easeth not hys sorowe, but encreaseth
his misery, maye he not be iustlie cal=
led mad and phātastical, and worthy
whole

whose wysdome should be suspected: And what shall we say of the, who be ing in ỹ cõmunes welth feling a sore, greuous vnto them, and ealy to haue bene amended, sought not the remedy but hath increased the gryfe, and like frantike beastes ragynge agaynste their hed, doeth teare and deface as muche as lyeth in them, his hole authority, in gouernement, and violentlye taketh to them selues, that rule on them, which he by pollicie hath graũted vnto other. And who wayinge well the heauynes of the faute, maye not iustlye saye, and holde them to be worse herin, then anye kynde of brute beastes. For we se that the shepe wyll obaye the shepeard, and the nete be ruled by the nete herde, and the horse wyll knowe his keper, and the dogge wilbe in awe of hys master, and euery one of them fede ther, and of that, as his keper and ruler doth appoynt

hym

him, and goeth from thens, and that, as he is tobydden by hys ruler, and yet we haue not heard of, that anye heard or company of these, hath risen agaynste their heardeman, or gouernoure but be alwayes contented not onely to obeye them, but also to suffer them to take profit of theym. And we se furdermore, that all herdes, and all sorts, be more eger in fersnes against all kyndes of strangers, then they be agayne their owne rulers, and wil easlier offend hym, who hath not hurte theym, then touch theyr ruler who seketh profet on theym. But ye that ought to be gouerned by your magistrates, as the herdes by the herdmā, and ought to be lyke a shepe to your kynge, who oughte to be lyke a shepard vnto you, euē in that time when your proffit was soughte, and better redresse was intended, them youre vp stirres, and vnquietnes coulde op-

taine

tayne, haue beyond the crueltie of all beastes fouly risen agaynste your ruler, and shewe your selues worthy to be ordered lyke beastes, who in kynd of obedience wyll falle from the state of menne. A dogge stoppeth when he is beatten of hys master, not for lake of stomake, but for natural obedience, you beynge not striken of your head, but fauoured, not kepte downe, but soccoured, and remedyed by lawe, haue vyolentlye, agaynste lawe not onely barcked lyke beastes, but also bitten like helhoundes. What is the mychiefe of sedicion, other not knowen vnto you, or not feared? Hath not examples afore times both tould thende of rebelles, and the wickednes of rebellion it selfe? But as for olde examples, let them passe for a whyle, as thynges well to be considered, but at thys present, one thyng more to be wayed. Loke vpon youre selues af-

ter

ter ye haue wyckedly stepte into this horrible kind of treasō, do you not se howe many botomles whirlpoles of myschyfe ye be golphte wyth all, and what losome kindes of rebellion ye be fayne to wade thorowe.

☞ Ye haue sente out in the kynges name, agaynste the kynges wyll, precepte of al kyndes, and without cōmaundement, commaunded his subiectes, & vnrulyly haue ruled, where ye listed to cōmaund, thynking your owne phansyes, the kynges comaundementes, and rebels lustes in thynges to be rpght gouernement of thinges, not lokynge what should folowe by reason, but what youre selues folow by affection. And is it not a daūgerous and a cruel kynde of treason, so to geue out precepte to the kings people? Ther can be no iust execution of lawes, reformation of fautes, geuing out of commaundementes, but

from

frō the kyng. For in the king only is the righte here of, and the authoritye of him deriued by his appointemente to his ministers. Ye hauinge no authoritie of the kynge, but takynge it of your selues, what thynke ye youre selues to be? Ministers ye be none excepte ye be the diuils ministers, for he is the authoure of sedicion. The kynges maiestie entendeth to maynteyne peace, & to oppresse war. Ye stir vp vprores of people, hurly burlies of vagabūdes, routes of robbers. Is this any part of ỹ kinges ministery? If a vacabund woulde do what hym list, call him selfe your seruaunt, and execute suche offices of trust, whither ye would or no, as ye haue committed to an other mannes credit, what wold euery on of you say or do herin? Wolde ye suffer it? Ye wander out of houses, ye make euery day new matters, as it pleaseth you, ye take in hād

the

the executiō of those thynges, God by hys worde forbyddynge the same, whyche God hath put the magistrates in truste wythall. What can ye saye to thys? Is it sufferable thyncke ye? If ye told a priuate message in an other mans name, can it be but a fals lye I praye ye, and to tel a fained message to the commune welth, and that from the king, can it be honest thinke ye? To commaunde, is more then to speake, what is it then to commaund so trayterous a lye? Thys thē whych is in worde a deceytfull lye, and in dede a trayterous faute, noysome to the commune welth, dishonorable to the kynge, mischeuous in you, howe can you other wyse iudge of it, but to be an vnharde of and notable disobedience to the kynge, and therefore by notable example to punished, and not wyth gentilues of pardon to be forgeuen.

Ye haue robbed euery honeſt houſe and ſpoyled them veriuſtly, and petiouſly wrung poze men being no offẽders, to their vtter vndoyng, & yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kinges maieſties lawe & his comaundement is, that euery mã ſhould ſakely kepe hys owne, & vſe it reaſonably to an honeſt gaine of hys liuing. Ye violenly take & cary away frõ men wout cauſe, al thinges, wher by they ſhould mayntayne, not onely them ſelues, but alſo their family, and leaue thẽ ſo naked, that they ſhal fele the ſmart of your curſed enterpziſe lõger then your owne vnnatural & vngodly ſtomakes would well vouchſak. By iuſtice ye ſhuld neither hurt, noz wrõg man, & your pzetenſed cauſe of this monſtrous ſtur, is to encreace mens welth. And yet how many, and ſay truth, haue ye decayed & vndone, by ſpoiling & takig away their gods? Howe ſhould honeſt men liue quietly in the commune welth at anye time, if

theyr goodes other gotten by theyr own labour, or left to thē by theyr frēdes, shal vnlawfully & vnorderly to the feadig of a sort of rebels be spoyled and wasted, and vtterly snatched awaye. The thynge ye take is not your ryght, it is an other mans own, the maner of takyng against hys wil is vnlawful, and against the order of euery good commune welth, the cause why ye take it is mischeuous and horrible to fat vp youre sedition, ye that take it wicked traitours, and cōmune enemies to all good order. If he that desireth an other mans goodes or catail do faute, what doth he thinke ye, whose desier takyng foloweth, and is led to and fro by lust, as hys wycked phās̄y void of reasō doth guide hym. He that vseth not his owne well and charitably, hath much to answere for, and shal they be thought not vniust, who not onely taketh awaye other mens but also misuseth and wasteth

the

the same vngodlye: They that take thynges priuily awaye and steale secretelye and couertlye other mennes goodes, be by lawe iudged worthye death, and shall they that wythoute shame spoyle thinges openlye, and be not afearde by impudence to professe theyr spoile, be thought other honest creatures to GOD, or faythful subiectes to their kinge, or naturall men to their countrey? If nothyng hadde moued you but the example of mischife, and the fowle practise of other moued by the same, ye shuld yet haue abstained from so licentious & so villanous a shewe of robbery, cõsidering howe many honester ther be, that beyng loth their wyckednes shoulde be blased abrod, yet be fould out by prouidence, & hãged for desert. What shall we thẽ thincke or say of ye? Shall we call you pyckers, or hidtheues, naye more thẽ theues, daytheues, herdsteelers, shirespoilers, & vtter destroyers

ers of al kyndes of kamilies, bothe a-
mong the pooze, and also amonge the
rich. Let vs yet further se, is there no
mo thinges wherin ye haue broken ỹ
kinges lawes and so vilie disobayed
him contrary to your bonden dutie.
Ye haue not only spoyled the kinges
true subiects of the goddes, but also
ye haue impzisoned their bodies, whi-
ch should be at liberti vnder ỹ kyng,
and restrained them of their seruice,
which by dutie they owe the kynge, &
apaired both strēgth and helth, wher
with they liue and serue the kinge.

Is ther any honest thing moze de-
sired then libertie, ye haue shamefulli
spoyled them thereof. Is ther anye
thynge moze duetyfull, then to serue
theyz Lozde and mayester: But as
that was desiered of the one parte, so
was it hindered and stopped on your
parte. Foz neyther can the kynge be
serued, noz kamylies kepte, noz the
commune welthe loked vnto, where
fredom

fredome of libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hindred, and the helpe of strength and health abated. Mens bodies oughte to be fre from all mens bondage and crueltye, and only in this realme be subiect in publike punishment, to our publique gouernour, and nether be touched of hedlesse captains, nor holden of brayneslesse rebels. For the gouernemēt of so precious a thyng, ought to be long vnto the most noble ruler, and not iustly to be in euery mans power, which is iustly euerye liuinge mans treasure. For what goodes be so dere to euery man as his own body is, which is the true vessel of the mynd to be measurablye kept of euery mā, for al exercises and seruices of the mind. If ye maye not of your owne authoritie, meddle with mens goodes, much lesse you maye of your own authoritie take order with mens bodies: For what be goodes in cōparison of helth, libertie, & strength

which be al settled and kastened in the body. Thei ȳ strike other, do greatly offende & be iustly punishable, & shall they that cruelly and wronfully tor-ment mens bodies wyth yrons & im-prisonmente, be thoughte not of other but of them selues honest and playne and true dealynge men? What shall we say by them, who in a priuate bu-sines wyl let a man to go his iourney in the Kynges hygh way, do they not thyncke ye playne wronge? Then in a commune cause, not only to hynder them but also to deale cruellye wyth them, and shutte theim from doynge their seruyce to the Kynge, and theyr dutye to the commune welth, is it not both disobedience, and crueltye, and mischief thinke ye? What an hynde-raunte is it to haue a good garmente hurte, any iewell appaired, or anye e-steemed thyng to be decaied, and seing no earthly thyng a manne hath more pretiouse then hys body, to cause it to

be

be cruely tormented wyth yrons, fe-
bled with could, weakned with orde-
ring, cã it be thought any other thing
but wrong to the sufferer, crueltye in
the doer, and greate disobedience and
transgression to the kynge: Howe
then be ye able to defende, but seynge
ye so vnpitifullye vexe menne, caste
them in prison, lade them with yrons,
pyne them with famine, contrarye to
the rule of nature, contrarye to the
kynges maiesties lawes, contrary to
goddes holye ordinaunces, hauynge
no matter, but pretensed and fayned
gloses, ye be not onely disobedient to
the kyng lyke rebelles, but withstan-
dyng the lawe of nature like beastes,
and so worthy to dye lyke dogges, ex
cept the kinges maiestie without res-
pect of your deseruing, do mercifully
graunt you of hys goodnes, that as
ye cannot escape by iustice.

☞Yet ye beynge not contente wyth
these as small thynges, enterprysyng

greatter matters, and as thoughe ye cold not satisfy your selfe, if ye should leaue anye mychiefe vndone, haue sought bloud with crueltie, and haue slayne of the kynges true Subiectes many thynkynge theyr murdre to be youre defens, when as ye haue encresed the faulte of youre vyle rebellion with the horroure of bloudeshed, & so haue burdened myschiefe wyth myschiefe whyle it come to an importable weight of mischife, What coulde we do more in the horribleſt kind of fautes, to the greateſt transgressours & offenders of God & men: then to loke straightli on them by death, and so to rid theym out of the cõmune welth by seuere punishment, whom ye thought vnworthy to liue amõg men for their doynges, And those who hath not offended the kynge, but defended hys realme, and by obedience of seruyce sought to punish the disobedient, and for safegarde of euery mã put thẽ sel-

ues

nes vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserably and cruelly slayne and bathed you in their bloude, whose doinges ye shoulde haue folowed, and so haue appayred the commune welth, both by distruction of good men & also by encrease of rebeles. And how cã that commune wealth by any means endure, wherein euerye man wythout authoritye, maye vnpunyshed, slea whom he lyste, and that in suche case as those who be slayne shewe theym, selues moost noble of courage, and moste ready to serue the kynge and the commune welth, and those as doe slea, be moste villanouse and traytorouse rebels, that ani commune welth dyd euer susteine. For a Cytye and a prouince be not the faire houses, and the stronge walles, nor the defence of any engine, but the liuinge bodies of men, being hable in nombre & strẽgth to mayntayne thẽ selues by good order of iustice, and to serue for al necessary

sary and behouable vses in the commune welth. And whē as mans body beyng a part of the whole commune welth, is wrongfullye touched anye way, and specially by death, then sufferyth the commune welth great iniurie, and that alwaye so much the more howe honester and nobler he is who is iniuriouslye murdered. Howe was the Lord Shefield handeled among you, a noble Gentilman and of good seruice, both fitte for counsel in peace and for cōduit in war. Considered ye other the grauitye of hys wysdom, or the authoritie of his personne, or hys seruice to the commune wealth, or the hope that all men had in hym, or the neede that Englande had of suche, or among many notablie good, hys singuler excellencie, or the fauoure of al men toward him, beyng loued of euerye man, and hated of no man? Considered ye who shoulde by dutye be the Kinges subiectes, other how ye shold not

not haue offended the kynge, or after offence haue required the kinges pardon, or not to haue refused his goodnes offered, or at length to haue yelded to hys mercye, or not to haue slaine those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those who in dãger offered raunsom. But al these thinges forgotten by rage of bellion, because one madnes cãnot be without infinite vices, ye slewe hym cruelly, who offered hym selfe mãfully, nor would not spare for raunsome, who was worthy for nobelnes to haue had honor, and hewed hym bare, whom ye coulde not hurt armed, and by slauery slewe nobilitie, in dede miserably, in fashion cruellye, in cause deuylyshlye. Oh wyth what cruell spyte, was violently sondered so noble a bodye frome so godlye a mynde? Whose death muste rather bee reuenged then lamented, whose death was no lacke to hym selfe but to his countrie, whose death

myghe

might euery waye bene better borne then at a rebels hand, violéce is in al thynges hurtful, but in like horrible. What shoulde I speake of others in the same case, diuers & notable, whose death for manhoode and seruice, can want no worthye prayse, so longe as these ouggly stirrers of rebellió cã be had in mind, God hath hym selfe wined mans bodye and hys soule together, not to be departed a sõder, afore he eyther disseuer theym hym selfe, or cause them to disseuered by his minister. And shall rebels aud hedles campes, being armed against God, and in feld against ther king, thinke no faut to shed bloude of true subiectes hauing neither office of god, nor appointment of ministers nor iust cause of rebellion? He that steleth any parte of a mãs substaunce is worthy to lose his lyfe. What shal we thinke of theym? who spoyle men of ther lyues, for the maintenaunce wherof, not onely substaunce

staunce and riches be sought for, but also al commune wealthes be deuised Nowe then, youre owne consiences shoulde be made your iudges, & none other set to geue sentence agaynste ye seinge ye haue bene suche bloude sheders, so heynouse manquellers, so horrible murderers, coulde ye do anye other then playnelye confesse youre foule and wycked rebellion to be greuous againste God, and trayterouse to the kynge, and hurtfull to the commune wealth. So manye greuouse fautes metyng togethet in one sinke, myght not onely haue discouraged, but also driuen to deperation, any other honeste or indeferent mynd. But what kele they, whose heartes so depe mischieke hath hardened, and by behement of affection be made vnsham fast, and stoppe al discoure of reasnn to let at large the full scoupe of their vnrecurable madnes. Priuate mens gooddes semeth litle to your vnsatia

ble

Rudeliers, ye haue waxed gredy now vpon Cytyes, and haue attempted weyghtye spoiles to glutte vp and ye could your wastyng hunger. Oh how much haue they nede of, that wyl neuer be contented, and what ryches cã suffice any that wyll attempt high enterprises aboue their estate? Ye could not maintaine your campes w̃ your priuate goodes, wyth your neybours portion, but ye must also attempt Cities, because ye sought great spoyles with other mens losses, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honestly with your own, & thought thẽ worthy death that woulde disquiete ye in your house, & plucke away that which ye by right of law thought to be your own. Herein se what ye woulde haue done. Spoyled the kynges maiesties subiectes, weakened ỹ kings strẽgth, ouerthrowne his tounes, taken away his munitiõ, drawen his subiectes to like rebelliõ, ye & as it is amõg forein

enemies

enemies in sacking of cities, no doubt therof ye would haue fallē to slaughter of men, rauishing of wiues, deflouring of maides, chopping of childrē, firing of houses, beting doune of stretes, ouerthrowing of al together. For what measure haue mē in ꝑ encrease of madnes, whē thei cannot at the beginning stay thē selues frō falling in to it. And if the bestiall of one house to rob it, be iustly demed worthi deth, what shal we thinke of them that besiege whole cities for desire of spoile? We liue vnder a kyng to serue hym at all tymes when he shall nede our strength, and shall ye then not onely withdrawe your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also byolently plucke other away to, frō that dutie vnto the which by goddes commaundement all subiectes be straightly bound, & by all lawes euery nation is naturally led? The townes be not onely the ornament of the Realme, but also the sure of Marchauntes

chatites, the place of hãdycrafts, that men scattered in wyllages, & nedyng diuers thinges, maye in lyttell tome knowe where to fynde ther lacke. To ouer throwe them thẽ, is nothyng els but to wast your owne cõmodites, so that when ye woulde by a necessarye thynge for moneys, ye coulde not tell where to fynde it. Vnicion serueth the kyng, not onely for the defence of hys owne, but also for thinuasion of hys enemye. And if ye wyll then, so straightlie deale with him, that ye wil not let hym so much as defende hys owne, ye offer him double iniury, both that ye let him from doyng any notable facte abrod, and also that ye suffer not quietly to enioy his owne at home. But herein hath notably appeced, what cities hath faithfulli serued and suffered extreme danger, not onely of goodes, but also of hampne and death, rather then to suffer the kings enemyes to enter, and what whyte ly-

uered

uerid Cities hath not onely not with stãde them but also with shame fauo red them, & with mischike ayded the. And I would I might prayse herein all cities alike, whiche I woulde do, if all were lyke worthye, for then I might shew more fayth in subiectes, then strẽgthe in rebels, & testifi to mẽ to come, what a generall faith euerye citye bare to ỹ kinges maiesti, whose age although it were not fit to rule, yet hys subiectes heartes were wyl= linge to obeie, thinking not onlye of his hope, which al men conceiue here after to be in him, but also of the iust kynd of gouerneniente, whiche in his minoritie his cõsail doth vse amõge them. And here, how muche and how worthely may Excetet be cõmended, which being in ỹ middest of rebelles, vnvitailed, vnfurnished, vnprepared for so longe a siege, did noblie holde out the continuall & daungerous as= sault of the rebell. For they sustened

the violence of the rebell, not onelye
when they had plentie inough of vi-
tail, but also xi. or xii. daies after ỹ ex
treme famine came on them, and li-
uing without bread were in corage
so manfull, and in duety so constant,
that they thought it yet muche better
to die the extreme death of hõger, shew
ing truth to their kynge, and loue to
their contrey, then to geue anie place
to the rebell, and fauoure him with
aide, although thei might haue done
it with their lesse daunger. Whose ex
ample if Norwiche had followed, and
had not rather geuen place to traitor
ret, then to keepe theyr ductye, and
had not sought more safegarde then
honesty, and priuate hope more then
commune quietues, they had ended
theyr rebellion soner, and estaped thẽ
selues better, and saued the losse of
the worthi Lord Sheffilde, in whom
was more true seruice for hys lyfe
then

then in them for theyr goodes. And although this can not be spoken against certeine honeste that were amongest them, whose praise was the greater because they were so fewe, yet the greate noumber was suche that they not onely obeyed the rebell for feare, but also folowed him for loue, and did so traiterously ordre the kinges bãde vnder mi Lord Marques, that they suffered more damage oute of their houses by the townesmen, then they dyd abroode by the rebelles. Whose faute as the kynges maiestie may pardon, so I wold ether the example might be forgotte, that no Citie might hereafter folow the lyke, or the dede so abhorred, that other hereafter would auoyde the lyke shame, and learne to be noble bi Exceter, whose truth doth not onely deserue longe prayses, but also great rewarde.

Who then that would willingly de-
fende ye, can saye anye thinge for ye,
whiche haue so diuerselie fauted, so
traytorously offended, not onelye a-
gaynst priuate men seuerally, but al-
so generally againste whole tounes,
and that after suche a sorte, as oute-
warde enemies full of deadli foode,
coulde not more cruelly inuade the.
And thus the Kinges maiesty dishо-
nored, his counsel disobeied, the goo-
des of the pore spoyled, the houses of
the wealthy sacked, honest mens bo-
dies emprisoned, worthy mens perso-
nages slaine, cities besieged & threat-
ned, and al kinde of thinges disorde-
red, can ye without teares and repen-
taunce heare spoke of, which without
honestie and godlines ye practised, &
not finde in your hartes nowe to re-
tourne to dutie, which by witchcrafte
of sedicion, were drouned in disorder.
Haue ye not in disorder first greuous
lie offended God, nexte traytorouslie

risen

tisen against your kynge, and so no-
ther worthy euerlastyng life, as long
as ye so remayne, nor yet ciuile lyke,
being in suche a breache of commune
quietnes. Yf euerye one of these can-
not by them selues, plucke you backe
from this youre leude & outragious
enterprises, yet let all together stirre
ye, or at leaste be a fearfull exemple
to other, to beware by your vnmeasu
rable folye, howe they do so farre pro-
uoke God, or offende man, and fynde
by your misstempet to be them selues
better ordred, and learne styl to obeye
bicause they woulde not repente, and
so to liue with honesti, ỹ they woulde
nother willingly offend Gods lawe,
nor disobey mans.

☞ But and ye were so muche blered
that you dyd thinke impossible thin
ges, & youre reason gaue ye agaynste
all reason, that ye nother displeased
God herein, nor offended the kynge,
yet ye be so blynde that ye vnderstād

not your owne case, nor your neighboures miserye, nor the ruine of the whole comune welthe, whiche doeth euidently folowe, your so foule & detestable sedition. Do ye not see howe for the maintenaunce, of these vngodly rablementes, not only Cities and villages, but also Shieres and contres be vtterli destroied. Is not their corne wasted, their cattell fet awaye, their houses rifled, their goodes spoiled, and all to feede your vprisinge without reson, and to mainteine this tumulte of rebellion inuented of the Deuill, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowen by the power of Godes mightie hande. And whie should not so hurtfull wasting and heering of contreies, be iustelye punished wyth greate seueritie, seinge robbinge of howses, and taking of purses, do by lawe deserue thextremitie of deathe. Howe manye suffer iniurie when one hundred of a Shiere is spoyled, and

what

what intuite thynke ye is done when not only whole Shyres bee destroyed, but also euerie quarter of the Realme touched. Haue ye not broughte vpon vs al pouertie, weakenes, and hatered within the Realme, and discourage, shame, and dammage without the Realme? If ye miserably entended not onlye to vndo other, but al to destroye your selues, and to ouerthrowe the whole Realme, couldе ye haue taken a rediер waye to your owne ruine then this is? And firste if ye be any thinge reasonable, lifte vp your reason, and wey by wysedome, if not all thinges, yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginninge of matters to forsee the ende, & so iudge aduisedlie, or ye enter into any thing hastelye. See ye not this yere the losse of herucste? And thynke ye, ye can growe to wealthe that yere when ye lose your thrifte and profite?

Barnes be poore mens storehouses, wherin lieth a greate parte of euerie mans owne liuinge, his wifes & hys childrẽs liuing, wherwith men maintaine their families, pay their rentes, and therefore be alwayes thoughte most riche when they haue best croppes. And nowe when there is nother plenty of hay, nor sufficient of straw, nor corne inough, & that through the great disorder of your wicked rebellion, can ye thinke ye to do wel, whẽ ye vndo your selues, and iudge it a cõmune wealth, when the cõmunes is destroyed, and seeke your hap by vnhappines, and esteme your owne losse to be your owne forwardnesse, and by this iudgement shewe your selues howe litle ye vnderstand other mens matters, when ye can scacely consider the waightiest of your owne. Hathe not the haye this yere, as it rose fro the ground, so rotted to the grounde againe, and where it was wonte by

mens

mens seasonable labourc to be taken in due time, & thē serue for the maintenaunce of horse and cattell, wherewith we liue, nowe by your disordered mischiefe, hath ben by mens Idelnes and vndutifulnes, let alone vntouched, & so neyther serueth the pore to make money of, nor any cattel to liue with. The corne was sowen w̄ laboure, & the ground tylled for it with labour, & looked to be brought home againe wyth labour, & for lacke of honest labourers is lost on the ground, the owners being loiterers, & seking othermens haue lost their owne, and hoping for mountaines, lacked their present thrift, neither obteining that they sought nor seking ỹ they ought. And howe shall men lyue when the mayntenaunce of theyr prouision is lacking? For laboring and theyr old store is wasted bi wildenes of seditiō, and so neyther spare thonde, nor saue the new. Howe can men be fedde then

or

or beastes liue, when as suche wastefull negligence is miserably vsed, and mispending the tyme of their profite, in shamefull disorder of inobedience, care not greatly what becommes of their owne, because they entende to liue by other mennes. Haye is gone, corne is wasted, strawe is spoyled, what reckninge of herueste canne ye make, either for thaide of others, or for the relieke of your selues? And thus haue ye brought in one kynde of miserie, which if ye sawe before, as ye bee lyke to feele after, although ye had hated the comune wealthe, yet for loue of your selues ye would haue auoyded the greate enormitie therof, into the which ye wylfully now haue caste in your selues,

An other no lesse is, that such plentie of vitayle, as was aboundauntly in euerie quarter for the relieke of vs al, is now al wastefully and vnthrift fully spente in mainteininge you vnlawefull

lawefull rebelles, and so with disorder all is consumed, whiche with good husbandrie myght longe haue endured. For so muche as woulde haue serued a whole yere at home, wyth diligente and skylfull heede of husbandrie, that is wilfully wasted in a moneth in the campe, through the rauening spoyle of villanie. For what is vnordred plentye, but a wasteful spoile, whereof thinconuenience is so greate, as ye be worthie to feele, and bringeth in more hardnesse of liuyng, greater dearth of all thinge, and occasioneth many causes of diseases.

The price of thinges must nedes encrease much, whē the number of thinges wareth lesse, and by scarsitie be enhaunsed, & cōpelleth men to abate their liberalitie in house, both to their owne, & also to straungers. And whet the ryche wanteth, what cā the poore kynde, who in a comune scarsitie, lyue moste scarsely, and feeleth quickliest

the

the sharpnes of starueinge, when eue-
rye man for lacke is hongerbitten,
which if ye had wel remēbred before,
as ye nowe maye after perceiue, ye
woulde not I thinke so stifneckedlie
haue resisted, and endaungered your
selfe in the storme of famine, whereof
ye moste lykely muste haue the grea-
test parte, which moste stubburnly re
sisted, to your owne shame and confu
sion. Experience teacheth vs that af
ter a greate dearthe cometh a greate
death, for that when menne in greate
want of meate eateth muche il meate,
they fyl their bodies with il humors,
and casteth them from their state of
health into a subiection of syckenesse,
bycause the good bloude in the bodie
is not able to kepe his temper, for the
multitude of the ill humors that cor-
rupteth the same. And so growe great
and deadlye plagues, and destroye
greate noumbers of all sortes, spa-
ryng no kynde that they lyght on, no
ther

ther respectinge the poore with mercie, nor the riche with fauour. Can ye therfore thinke herein, when ye se decaye of vitailes, the ryche pinche, the poore famishe, the folowinge of diseases, the greatenes of deathe, the mourning of widowes, ỹ pitifulnes of the fatherles, and all this miserie to come thorowe poure vnnaturall misbehaueour that ye haue not dangerously hurt ỹ comunes of your cõtrei with a doleful and an vncurable wounde?

These thinges being once felte in the comune wealth, as they muste nedes be, euery man seith by & by what foloweth, a great diminishmẽt of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doeth maintaine is made lesse, and therby we be made rather a pray for our enemies, then a safetie for our selfe. And howe can there be but a great decay of people at the length, when some be ouer-

thorowen

throwen in warre, some suffer for pu-
nyshemente, some pine for famine,
some die wyth the campes diet, some
be consumed wyth sickenesse. For al-
though ye thinke your selues able to
matche wyth a fewe vnprepared gen
tlemen, and put them from theyr hou
ses, that ye myghte gaine the spoyle,
doo ye iudge therefore youre selues
strong inoughe, not onelye to wyth-
stande a kynges power, but also to
ouerthrowe it? Is it possible that ye
shoulde haue so madde a phrensye in
your head, that ye shoulde thinke the
number ye se so stronge, that all ye see
not, should not be able to preuaile to
the contrarye? Wyth what rea-
son coulde ye thinke that yf ye bode
the hoate brunte of battayle, but ye
must needes feele the smarte, special-
ly the kynges power commynge a-
gaynst you, whiche if ye feare not, be
lyke ye knowe not the force thereof.

And

And so muche the greater number is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed be partes, although vnlike of one realme, and what losse is not onely of either syde, but of both, that dothe playnlye redound to the whole. Then where so great and so horrible a faut is committed, as worse can not bee mentioned of frome the begynnynge, and bringeth in withall suche penurie, suche weakenes, suche disorder in the comune wealth, as no mischiefe beside coulde do the like, can any mā thinke with iuste reason that all shal escape vnpunished, that shall escape the sweard, and not mani for terrour, and examples sake should be looked vnto, who hath bene other greate doers in suche a disordred villainie, or greate counsellors to suche an outegrowen mischeife? Seinge thonly remedie of redressing wilfull fautes is a iust & a seuere punishment of suche whose

whose naughtie deedes good menne oughte to abhorre for duties sake, & il men maye dreade for lyke ponishementes sake, and a free licence to do mischiefe vnpunished is so daungerous that the sufferaunce of one, is thoccasion of the fault of a great nũber, and womannishe pitie to one, is a deceitfull cruelitie to the whole, entising them to their owne destruction bi sufferaũce, which wold haue auoided the daunger by forponishment. ☞ And in such a barenes of vitaile, as muste needes come after so rauening a spoile, it must nedes be ỹ some thoughe fewe, shall be so nipte with egernes of famine, that they shal not recouer againe them selues out of so greatinge a daunger. So in a generall weakenes, where all shall be febled, some must nedes dye and so diminishe the number, and abate suche strength as the Realme defended it self withal afore. Whiche occasiõ of

euer

so fewe comming of so greate a cause if ye should make iuste amendes for, not of recõpence whiche ye could not, but of punisheinent which ye ought, howe manie, howe diuerse, and howe cruell deathes ought euerie one of ye often to suffer? Howe manie came to the campes from longe labour to sodaine ease, and from meane fare to stroying of vitayle, and so fel in a maner vnwares to suche a contrarye chaunge, that nature her self abiding neuer great and sodaine chaũges, can not beare it withoute some groundes entred of diseases to come, whiche vncircumspect men shall sooner feele thẽ thinke of, and then wyll scarselie iudge the cause, whẽ thei shall be vexed with the effect. It is litel marueyle that idlenes & meat of an other mannes charge wyl sone feede vp and fat likely men, but it is greate meruеyle if idlenes and other mens meate do not abate thesame by sickнes againe,

and specialy comminge from the one and goinge to the other contrary in those, who violentlie seeke to turne in a moment thole realme to the contrary. For while theyr minde chaungeth from obedience to vnrulines, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wyldnes, and theyr bodies go from labour to idlenes, from smale fare, to spoyle of vitayle, and from beddes in the night to cabins, from swete houses to stinking campes, it muste nedes bee by chaunging of affections which alter the body, & by vsinge of reste ỹ filleth the bodye, and gluttinge of meates which weakeneth the bodie, and with colde in the nightes, which acraseth the bodie, & with corrupt ayer which infecteth the bodie, that there folowe some greuous tempest, not onli of contagious sickenes, but also of presente deathe to the bodye. The greateste plucke of all, is that vehemence of plage, which naturally foloweth the

dinte

dinte of honger, whiche when it entreth once amonge men, what dartes of panges, what thzowes of paines, what shoutes of deathe doeth it caste oute, howe manye fall, not astonied wyth the sickenes, but treated wyth the payne, howe beateth it downe not onelye small townes, but also greate contrees. This when ye se lyght first on your beastes, whiche lacketh fodder, and after fall on men, whose bodies gapeth foz it, and see the scarsenesse of men to be, by this your foule enterpzise, and not onelye other men touched wyth plages, but also your owne house stonge wyth death, and the plage also rayled of your risinge to fyze your selues, can ye thinke to be ani other but māquellers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principalles of thouerthzowe of so greate a number, as shall either by sweard oz ponyshmēt, famine oz some

plage or pestilence, be consumed and wasted out of the commune wealthe. And seinge he that decaieth the number of cotages, or plowes in a toune, semeth to be an enemie to the comune wealth, shall we not compte him, not onely an enemie, but also a murderer of his contreye, who by hardbrained vnrulines causeth the vtter ruine, & pestilent destruction of so many thousand men. Graunt this folye then and ouersight, to be such as worthely ye may compt it, and I shal go further in declaring of other greate inconueniences, whiche your daungerouse & furiouse misbehaueoure, hath hurtefully brought in. Seinge diuerse honest and true dealinge men, whose liuing is by their owne prouision, hath come so aforehande by tyme, that they haue bene able well, to lyue honestlye in their houses, and paye besides the rentes of their farmes truli, haue by your crueltie and abhorred

insur

insurrections, lost their goodes, their cattall, their heruest, which they had gotten before, and wherwith they entended to liue hereafter, thei be brought to this extremitie, that thei be neither able to liue as they were wonte at home afore, nor to paie their accustomable rente at their due time.
Wherby they be broughte into trouble & vnquietnes, not only musinge what they haue loste by you, but also cursing you by whome thei haue lost it, and also in daunger of losing their holdes at their Lordes handes, excepte by pitie they shewe more mercye then the righte of the lawe will graunt by iustice. And what a griefe is it to an honest man, to labour truelye in youth, and to gaine paynfully by labour, wherewith to liue honestli in age, and to haue this gotten in longe time to be sodainlye raught awaye by the violence of seditiō, whiche name he oughte to abhorre by it

selfe although no miseri of losse followed to him therby. But what greater griefe ought seditious rebelles to haue them selues, who if they be not stricken with punishment yet ought to pine in conscience and melte away with the griefe of their owne fautes, when they se innocētes & men of true seruice hindered & burdened with the hurte of theyr rebellion, and who in a good comune wealth shuld for honestries sake prospere, they by these rebelles onlie meanes be caste so behinde ȳ hand, as thei can not recouer easely agayne by theyr owne truthe, that as they haue loste by those traitours mischiefe. And if vniuste men ought not so to bee handled at anye mannes handes but onely stande to the order of a lawe, how muche more shoulde true and faithfull subiectes, who deserue prayse, feele no vnquietnes, nor be vexed with seditiō, who be obedientlye in subiection, but rather

thet seeke iuste amendes at false re-
belles handes, and by lawe obteine
that they loste by disorder, and so con
straine you to thuttermoste, to paye
the recompence of wrongfull losses,
because ye were the authors of these
wrongefull spoyles. Then woulde
ye sone perceiue the comune wealthes
hurte, not when other felte it who de-
serued it not, but when you smarted
who caused it, & stode not and looked
vpon other mennes losses, which ye
myght pitie, but tormẽted wyth your
owne which ye would lamente. Now
I am past this mischiefe, which ye will
not hereafter deny whẽ ye shal praise
other mens foresight, rather thẽ your
wicked doinges, in bewailyng thend
of your furie, in whose beginning ye
now reioyse. What say ye to ỹ nũbre
of vagabõdes & loitring beggers whi
che after ỹ ouerthrow of your cãpe &
scatering of this seditious nũbre, wyl
swarme in euery corner of the realme,

and not only lie loytering vnder hedges, but also stande sturdeli in cities, and begge boldly at euery doze, leauing labour which they like not, and folowing idlenes which they should not. For euery man is ealely and naturally brought, from labour to ease, frome the better to the wozse, frome diligence to slouthfulnes, and after warres it is communelye sene, that a great number of those whiche wente out honest, returne home againe like roisters & as though they were burnt to the warres botome, they haue all their lyke after an vnsauery smacke therof, and smel still towarde daiesleepers, pursepikers, highwaie robbers, quarelmakers, ye & bloudsheders to. Do we not se cõmunely in thende of warres moze robbing moze begging moze murdering then beloze, & those to stand in the high wai to aske their almes whom ye be afraied to say nai vnto honestly, lest they take it awaye fro me

frome you violentlye, and haue more cause to suspecte their strength, then pitie their nede. Is it not then dailye heard, howe men be not onlye pursued, but vtterly spoiled, and fewe may ride safe by the kinges waie, excepte they ryde stronge, not so muche for feare of their goodes, whiche menne esteme lesse, but also for daunger of their lyfe, whiche euerye man loueth. Worke is vndone at home, and loiterers linger in stretes, lurk in ale houses, range in highewaies, valiaunte beggers play in tounes, and yet complaine of neede, whose stacke if it be once hoat in their hande, or sluggishnes bred in their bosome, they wil neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting them selues better with idle beggary, then with honest and profitable labour. And what more noisome beastes be in a comune wealth? Drones in hiues sucke oute the honie, a smal matter, but yet to be loked on bi

good

good husbādes, caterpillers destroye the fruite, an hurtefull thinge and well shyfted for, by a diligente ouer-seer. Diuerse vermine destroye corne, wyll polleyne, enginnes and snares be made for thē. But what is a loyte rer, a sucker of honye, a spoyler of corne, a destroyer of fruite, saye a waster of money, a spoyler of vytaile, a sucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a reker of breakes, a queller of lyfe, a basiliske of the commune wealth, whiche by companie and syght doeth poyson the whole contreye, and stayneth honeste myndes wyth the infection of his venime, and so drayweth the commune wealthe to deathe and destructiō. Such is the fruites of your laboure and trauayle for your pretensed commune wealthe, which iustice wolde no mā should taste of but your selues, that ye myghte truelye iudge of your owne mischiefe, and fraye other by example frome presumynge

the

the lyke. When wee se a great num-
ber of dyes in a yere, we naturallye
iudge lyke to bee a great plage, and
hauing so great a warninge of loy-
teringe vagabondes, readie to begge
and braule at euery mannes doore,
which declare a greater infection, cã
we not looke for a greuouser and pe
rilouser daunger then the plage is?
Who can therfore otherwyse deame
but thys one deadly hurte, where-
with the comune wealthe of oure na
tion is wounded, beside all other is
so pestilent, that there can be no more
hurtefull thinge, in a well gouerned
state, nor more throwen into all kind
of vyce, and vnrulinesse, and there
fore this your sedition not only most
odious, but also moste horrible, that
haue spotted the whole contrey, with
suche a staine of idlenes.

☞ There can be none end of lautes,
if a mã reherse al lautes, ỹ do necessa-
rilye folowe this vnruly sturdines,

For

For not only vagabundes wandringe and scatering thē selues for mischiefe, shall runne in a mans eies, but also disorder of euery degre, shall enter in into a mans minde, and shall behold hereby the comune wealth miserably defaced by you, who shoulde asmuche as other, haue kept your selues in order in it. Nother is the magestrates duely obeied, nor the lawes iustly feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor maysters wel serued, nor parētes truli reuerenced, nor Lordes remembred of their tenauntes, nor yet other naturall, or Ciuile Lawe muche regarded. And it is plainly vnpossible that that contreye shall well stande in gouernemēt, and the people grow to wealth, where order in euery state, is not fitly obserued, and that bodie cannot bee without muche griefe of inflamacion, where any least part is oute of ioynte, or not duely set in his owne natural place. Wherfore order

must

muſte be kept in the comune wealthe lyke healthe in the bodye, and all the dyfte of pollicie loketh to this ende, how this temper may be ſafely mainteyned, without any exceſſe of vnmeaſurablenes, either of thone ſyde or of thother. And eaſye inoughe it is to kepe the ſame, whē it is once brought into the meane, and to holde it in the ſtaye it is founde in, but when it burſteth out once with a vehemence, and hath gotten into an vnrulie diſorder, it ſpredeth ſo faſt, and ouerflowеth al honeſte mens reſiſtinge ſo violently, that it wyll be harde to recouer the breache of a longe time againe, except wyth greate and wyſe counſell (which no doubt ſhall be in ſeaſon vſed) there be wonderfull remedies ſought therfore. And euen as a man fallynge is eaſier holden vp by ſtaye, then when he is fallen doune he is able to ryſe againe, ſo is the comune wealthe ſlippinge, by the fore ſight of wyſedome,

better

better kepte from ruine, then when it is once fallen into any kynde of miserie the same may be called againe to the olde and former state. Do we not euidently know, that a man may better kepe his arme or his legge from breaking or fallinge out of ioynte, afore hurt come to it, thē after the hurt it may safely & quietlie be healed, and restored to ꝑ former strength & healthy againe. And nowe thorow your seditious meanes, thinges ꝑ wer afore quiete & in good order, lawes feared & obeied, subiectes ruled & kept in duety, be al now in a great disorder, & like it it be not holpē, to grow to wyldnes, & a beastlines, seynge ꝑ neither comune duety cā be kept, which nature preserueth, nor comune law cā be regarded, which pollicie requireth. How can ye keepe your owne, if ye keepe no order, your wyfe and childrē how cā they be defended from other mens violence, if ye wyl in other thinges breake all or-

der

der, by what reason, would ye be obey ed of yours as seruauntes, if ye wyll not obey the king as subiectes: howe would ye haue others deale orderlye with you, if ye wyll vse disorder a= gainst all others? Seynge then there is suche a confusion now of thinges, suche a tumoile of men, suche a diso= der of fashions, who can loke to lyue quietelie a great while, who cā thinke but that ye haue miserably tossed ỹ co mune wealth, & so vexed al men wᵗ dis order, ỹ thinconuenience hereof, cā not only nip others, but also touche you. ☞ But now see howe that not onely these vnlokedfor mischiefs haue hea= uelye growē on ye, but also those com modities which ye thought to haue holpen your selues and others by, be not only hundered, but also hurte ther by. The kynges maiestie by thad= uise, &c. cet. entended a iuste reformā= tion of all suche thynges as poore men coulde truelie shewe them selues oppressed

oppressed with thinking equalitie of iustice, to be the diademe of his kyngdome, and the safegarde of his comunes. Which was not onlie entēded by wysedome, but also set on wyth spede, and so entred into a due consideringe of all states, that none shoulde haue iust cause to grudge against thother, when as euery thing rightfully had, nothing coulde be but vnrightfullye grudged at. And this woulde haue ben done, not onely with your glad & wylling assente, but also ben done by this daye almoste throwe oute the whole realme, so that quietelie it had bene obteined without incōuenience, and spedely, without delay. And what soeuer had bene done by the kinges maiesties authoritie, that would by right haue remained for euer, & so taken in lawe, that the contrary partie, neither could by iustice, neither wolde bi boldnes, haue enterprised ꝑ breake thereof. But lest wicked men shoulde

be

be wealthy, and they whose hartes be not truly bente to obedience, shoulde obteine at the Kinges hand that thei deserued not in a comune wealth, ye haue mercuellously and wortheli hurt your selues, & graciously prouided, except the Kinges goodnes be more vn to you then your owne desertes can clayme, ỹ ye be not so muche worthie as to be benefited in any kinde, as ye be worthy to lose that ye haue on euerie syde. Ye haue thought good to be your owne reformers by lyke, not only vnnaturally mistrusting the Kinges iustice, but also cruelly and vncyuilely dealing with your owne neighbours. Wherin I wolde as ye haue hurte the whole realme, so ye had not enterprised a thinge moste daungerous to your selues, and moste contrary to the thinge ye entended. If ye had let thinges alone thought good by your selues to be redressed, and dutifullye looked for the performaunce

of the kynges maiestie promised re
formation, thei should not haue bene
vndone at this tyme, as in a greate
sort of honest place: thei be, nor those
contreis who for their quietnes bee
moste worthi to be loked on, shoulde
haue ben vnprouided for at this day.
But this commoditie hath happened
by the waye that it is euidētly know
en, by your mischief, and others duti,
who be most true to the kinge, & most
worthye to bee done for, and who bee
most pernitious & traiterous rebels.
And it is not to be douted, but they
shal be considered with thankes, and
fynde iuste redresse, without deserued
misery, and you punished like rebels,
who might haue had both praise and
profite like subiectes. For that as ye
haue valiauntly done of your selues,
thinke ye it wyll stande any longer,
then men feare your rage, whiche can
not endure longe, and that ye shall
not then byde the rigor of the lawe

for

for your priuate iniuries, as ye vsed the furye of your braynes in other mens oppressions. Wyll men suffer wronge at your handes when law cā redresse and the ryght of the comune wealth wyll maintayne it, and good order in cuntreis wyll beare it? Ye a mende fautes as yll surgions heale sores, whiche when they sense to bee whole aboue, they rākle at ꝑ botome, and so be faine continually to be sore, or els be mended by new breaking of the skynne. Your redresse semeth to you perfite and good, ye haue pulled doune suche thinges as ye would, ye thinke now all is well, ye consider no farther, ye seke not ꝑ botome, ye se not the sore, ꝑ ye haue done it by no lawe, ye haue redressed it by no order, what thē? If it be none otherwaies serched thē of you, it wil not tarri lōg so, either it will be after cōtinually as it was afore your comming, or els it must bee whē al is done amēded by the kynge.

Thus haue ye both lacked in ỹ time
and misse in the doing, & yet besides
that ye haue done whiche is by you
doing to no purpose, ye haue done ỹ
thinges with suche inconuenientes as
hath bene both before rehearsed and
shall bee after declared, that bette
it had bene for you neuer to enioyed
the cõmoditie if there be any, then to
suffer the griefes ỹ will ensue, which
be very many. In euery quarter som
uien whom ye set by will be losse, whi
che euerye one of you if ye haue lou
in ye, would rather haue lacked th
profite of your enclosures, then caus
suche destruction of them, as is lyk
by reason and iudgement necessarily
to folowe. What comune wealthe is
then, to do suche abhominable enter
prises after so vile a sorte that ye hin
der that good ye would do, and bring
in that hurte ye woulde not, and s
finde that ye seke not, and folow tha
ye loose, and destroye your selfes b

folly

folly, rather then ye would be ordred by reason, and so haue not so muche amended your old sores, as brought in newe plages, which ye your selues that deserue them wil lament, and we which haue not deserued them maye curse you for. For although the kinges maiestie, &c. entended for your profites a reformatiõ in his comune wealth, yet his pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie subiect shoulde busily intermedle with it of their owne head, but onlie those whõ his counsel thought moste mete men for suche an honest purpose, The kinges maiestie, &c. hath godli reformed an vncleane parte of religion, & hath brought it to ỹ true forme of the first churche that folowed Christe, thinking that to be the truest, not what later mens phansies hath of them selues deuised, but what thapostles and their felowes had at Christes hande receiued, and willeth the same to be

knowen and set abrode to all his peo-
ple. Shal euery man now that listeth
& phansieth the same take in hand vn
called to be a minister, and to set forth
the same hauing no authoritie? May
thoughe the thinge were very godlye
that were done, yet the person muste
nedes do yll y interpriseth it, because
he doth a good thing after an yl sort,
and loketh but on a litle parte of du-
tie considering the thinge, & leaueth
a greate parte vnadui sed, not conside
ring the person, whē as in a wel and
iustly done matter, not only those two
thinges ought well to be weyed, but
also good occasion of time, and reaso
nable cause of the doinge ought also
much to be set afore euery doers eies.
Nowe in this your deede the maner
is vngodlye, the thynge vnsuffera-
ble, the cause wycked, the person se-
ditious, the time traiterous, and can
ye possiblie by any honeste defence of
reason, or any good conscience reli-

giouslie

giously grounded denie that this ma
litious & horrible faute, so wickedlie
set on is not onely synfull afore god,
traiterous to the kinge, but also dead
ly and pestilent to the whole comuns
wealth of our contrey, & so not only o
uerflowe vs w the miserie, but also o
uerwhelme you with the rage therof.
☞ Yet further see, and ye be not wery
with the multitude of miseries why-
che ye haue meruellouslye moued,
what a pocke ye wylfullye do bringe
on your selues, in stirringe vp this de
testable sedition, and so bringe your
selues into a further slauery, if ye vse
your selues often thus inobedientlie.
When commune order of the lawe
can take no place in vnrulye and dis
obedient subiectes, and all men wyll of
wylfulnesse resiste wyth rage, and
thynke their owne violence to be the
beste iustice, then bee wyse maiestra-
tes compelled by necessitie to seeke an
extreme remedie, where meane salues

helpe not, and bnage in the Martial lawe, where non other lawe seruethe. Then muste ye be contented to byde punishment wythout proceſſe, condēnation without wytneſſe, ſuſpition is then taken for iudgemente, and dyſpleaſure may be iuſte cauſe of your execution, and ſo wythout fauoure ye finde ſtraytnes, whiche without rule ſeeke violence. Ye thinke it a harde law and an vnſufferable. It is ſo in deede, but yet good for a medicine. Deſperat ſickeneſſes in phiſicke muſt haue deſperate remedies, for meane medicines wyll neuer helpe greate griefes. So if ye caſte your ſelues in to ſuche ſharpe diſeaſes ye muſt needes loke for ſharpe medicines againe at your phiſitions handes. And worthy ye be to ſuffer the extremitie in a comune wealth, which ſeeke to do the extremitie, and by reaſon muſte receiue the lyke ye offer, and ſo be contented to byde the ende wyllyngly, which ſet

on

on the beginninge wilfullye. For no greater shame can come to ỹ comune wealth, then that those subiectes, whiche should be obedient euen wythout a lawe, can not be contented to be ordred by the lawe, and by no meanes kept within theyr dutie, which should euery way offend rather then in their dutie: It is a toke that the subiectes lacke reason, when they forsake lawe, and thinke other by their multitude to fynde pardon, which can not iustly stretch to al, or els by stregth to beare the strocke, whiche can not prospere a gainst a kynge. They must nedes lytle consider them selues, who bringe in this necessitie, rather to stande to the pleasure of a mans wyll, then to abyde the reason of the lawe, and to be endaungered more whē an other menlysteth, then when himselfe offendeth. And this muste necessarily folowe if your rebellion thus continue, & while ye seeke to throwe downe the yocke

which

which ye phanſi your ſelfes burdened withal, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leauinge ſalerie & folowyng dauger, and putting your ſelues vnder the iuſtice of the whole fauour ye might eaſely haue kept, if ye wolde wyllingly and diligently haue ſerued. Now ye gentlemē be more in truſt because the comunes be vntruſty, & thei gat by ſeruice whiche ye loſe by ſtubburnes, and therfore muſt nedes if ye thus continue, haue more authorite frō the kynge, because ye would be in leſſe ſubiectiō to ye kinge, & that as ye wyl not do of your ſelues ye muſte be compelled to do bi others, and that ye refuſe to do willingly, thinke ye muſt be drawen to do the ſame conſtrained lie. Which when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſedom ſeeth in your faures that it muſt nedes, what gaine ye then, or what profite can aryſe to you by ryſing, which inyght haue found eaſe in ſitting ſtyl, & what ſhal ye be at legth

the

the better for this turmoile, which be
side diuers other incõmodities reher
sed, shall be thus clogged wᵗ the vn-
sufferable burde of ꝑ Martial lawe.
¶ Yet is there one thinge behinde
which me thinketh your selues shuld
not forget, seing ꝑ ye haue geue ꝑcau
se, ye should dulli loke for theffect. Ye
haue spoiled, enpisoned, & threatned
gentlemen to death, & that with such
hatered of minde, as may not well be
borne, ꝑ cause therof I speke not on,
which tried wil happeli be not so gre
ate, but se ꝑ thinge, set murder aside
whiche is ꝑ heinoseste faute to a pry-
uate mã. What could more spitefulli
haue ben done again thẽ, thẽ ye haue
vsed wᵗ crueltie? Can this do anye o-
ther but brede in their stomakes gret
grudge of displeasure towarde you &
engẽdre suche an hatered as the wea
ker and the sufferer, must nedes bear
ꝑ smart therof. The kinges best kind
of gouernmẽt is so to rule his subie-
ctes, as a father ordreth his children,

and beste like of obedient subiectes is one to behaue him selfe to an other, as though they were brethern vnder the kinge their father. For loue is not the knotte onely of the commune wealth, wherby diuerse partes be perfitely ioyned together in one politike body, but also the strength, and mighte of the same gatheryng to gether in to a small rome with order, whiche scatered woulde elles breede confusion and debate. Dissention we see in smal houses, and therby maye take example to great comune wealthes, howe it not onelt decaieth them from wealth, but also abateth them from strength. Thinke small examples to take place in great matters, and the lyke though not so greate to folowe in the both and therby learne to iudge of greate thinges vnknowen, by smal thinges perceiued. When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the weakest to the walles and w

whome

whom the father taketh part with al, is not he likeſt to preuaile? Is it not wyſdome for the ponger brother, after the good wyl of the parentes to ſeeke his eldeſt brothers fauour, who vnder the is moſt able to do for him? To ſeeke them both with honeſtie is wiſdome, to loſe them both by ſullennes is madnes. Hathe there not bene daily benefites frome the gentlemen to you, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe but in none cõſidered, which thei haue more frindly offered, then you haue gently requited. This muſt ye loſe, when ye wyll not be thankefull, and learne to gaine new goods wyll by deſette, when ye forſake tholde frendeſhip vnprouoked. And ye muſt think that liuing in a comune wealth together, one kinde hath nede of an other and yet a great ſort of you more nede of one gentleman, then one gentlemã of a greate ſort of you, and thoughe all be partes of one comune wealthe,

yet

yet al be not lyke worthy parties, but al being vnder obedience, some kinde in more subiection one way, and some kynde in more seruice another waye. And seinge ye be lesse able by money & liberalitie to deserue good wyl then other be, and your onli kinde of desert is to shew good wil, which honest mē do wel accepte asmuche worth as money, haue ye not much hindred & hurt your selfe herein, losing ꝑ one kind of humanitie which ye haue only left & turnig it into cruelty, which ye ought moste to abhorre, not only because it is wycked of it selfe, but also most noi some to you. I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herin, but ye must finde some inconuenience herein, if ye folowe your fiknes styl, & must nedes iudge ꝑ ye haue wylfully brought on your selues suche plages as the lyke coulde not haue fallen on you, but by your selues. Seing then thus many wayes ye haue hurte the comune

wealth

wealth of this whole contrei within, bi destruction of shiers, losing of her uest, wasting of vitaile, decaying of manrode, voyding of farmers, encre singe of vagabondes, mainteining of disorder, hindringe of redresses, bring ging in of Martial lawe, & bredinge continuall hatered amonges diuers states, what thinke ye I praye you, iudge ye not ỹ ye haue cõmitted an o dious & a detestable crime against the hole comune wealthe, whose furde raunce ye ought to haue tendred by duti, & not to haue sought ỹ hurt ther of with your owne dãmage.

☞ Besides al these inwarde griefes which euery one seuerallie must nedes fele wt miserie, ther happeneth so ma ni outward mischaūces among straū gers to vs wt disdaine, ỹ if ther were nothing il win the realme which we should feele, yet ỹ shame which doth touch vs frõ other cõtreis should not õli moue but also cõpel you heartli to forthinke this your rebellious seditiõ.

For what shall straungers thinke, when they shall heare of greate mis order, which is in this Realme with such a confusion, ỹ no order of lawe cã kepe you vnder, but must be fayne to be beate doum with a kinges power. Shall they not firste thinke the kinges maiestie, in whose minde god hathe powred so muche hope for a chylde, as we may loke for gifter in a man, eyther for his age to be litle set by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for defaute of loue to be resisted, and no nõtable grace of God in him considered, nor the worthines of his office loked vpon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred? Shal they not next suppose smal esti matiõ to be geuẽ to the rulers, to whõ vnder ỹ kyng we owe due obedience, that cã not in iuste & lawfull matters be heard, nor men to haue that ryght iudgemẽt of theyr wisedome, as their iustice in rule, and forsight in coun-

sell

eel requireth, but rather prefer their owne phãsies to others experience, & deame their owne reasõ to be comune wealth, & other mẽs wisdom to be but dreaming. Shal thei not truly saye, the subiectes to be more vnfaithfull in disobedience, then other subiectes worse ordred be, and licence of libertie to make wylde heades withoute order, and that they neither haue reason that vnderstand not the mischief of sedition 'nor duetie whiche folowe their beastlines, nor loue in thẽ which so litle remembre the comune wealth nor natural affection which wildelie seeke their owne destruction. Thus the whole contrey lackinge the good opinion of other nations is caste in to greate shame by your vnrulines, and the procedinges of the contrey be they neuer so godly shal be yll spoken of, as vnfitte to be brought into vse, and good things hereby that deserueth prayse, shall byde the rebuke

of them that liſte to ſpeake yl, and yll thinges vntouched ſhall be boldlyer maintcined, nothing mai with prais be redreſſed, where thinges be measured by chaunſable diſorder, rather thē by neceſſary vſe, and that is thought moſt pollitike, that men wyl be beſte contented to do, and not that whiche men ſhould be brought vnto bi duti. And w̄ what dutt or vertue in ye, can ye quēch out of mens memories this foule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who hath ſo vilely with reproche ſclaūdred the ſame, and diuerſlye diſcredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iuſte gouernmente and ruled order, vſed here tofore in this noble realme, which is now moſt greuous bicauſe it is now moſt without cauſe. If this outward opinion, without further inconuenience wer al, yet it might wel be borne and woulde with eaſe decaie, that it

grewe, but it hath not onlie hurte vs with voice, but endaungered vs in deede and caste vs a greate deale behinde the hande where els we mygh haue had a toilie for deale. For that o portunitie of time, whiche seldome chaũceth, & is alwaies to betakẽ, hath bene by your froward meanes loste this yere, and so vainli spent at home for bringinge doune of you, whiche should els profitably haue ben other wyse bestowed, ỹ it hath ben almoste as great a losse to vs abrode to lacke that we mighte haue obteined, as it was cõbraunce at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whose sedition is to bee abhorred. And we mighte both cõueniẽtli haue inuaded some if they wold not reasonably haue grow en to some kinde of frẽdship, & also de fẽded other, which wolde beside pro mise for times sake, vniustli set vpon vs, & easly haue made this stormi ti me a fair yere vnto vs, if our mẽ had

bene so happy at home as our likely-
hode abrod was fortunate. But what
is it I pray you, other to let slip suche
an occasiõ by negligence, or to stop it
by stubburnes which once past away
can bee by no meanes recouered, no
not thoughe with diligence ye go a-
boute to renforce the same againe.
☞ Was there not I pray you great
hope in the parties, and muche likely
hode in the thinge, that the Scottes
who hath both troubled vs, & destroy
ed thẽ self, to escape that happines of
perpetual vnitie, ẏ shuld for both our
welthes haue euermore ẽdured, wold
haue resonably condiscended to some
good poynt of frẽdshyp, had not your
bulye and brainsicke heades come in
to such a dulines of reason, ẏ for a tri-
fle which ye ought not to haue done,
ye stopped ẏ which ye cã neuer amend
And what had bene more agreable &
cõuenient for vs both, then as nature
hath made vs one, & encloled vs from
all

al other, so we might by agreement be one, and be made seuerall frome other mens rulinge. For while they seke the helpe of other contreis, they decaye them selues, & bringe them selues in to a straunge subiectiō, rather then they would bide an equalitie wt vs, which when they lay theyr affecti ons a part, & loke on their owne state with true reason, thei will then iudge what it is both to haue alway theyr neighbour an enemie, & their bought frende a ruler. But they can not al-wayes cōtinue in this blind hatered, and if they will not forsee it by reasō they must after feele it by experience, and so peraduenture know it to late, when al those occasions, which tyme bringeth, and god ordeineth, be takē away and can not so conueniently be brought to passe, beinge daunted, as thei might afore beinge offred. Ther hath lacked nothinge hitherto but their good wylles, to be englishe, to

be equal ī al benefites of this realme to bee gouerned wyth one ruler and with one lawe, to haue ioyned oure selfes in aliaũce of bloud, in equalite of frēdship, in benefit of one cōmune wealth. The lacke of their partie is cause of cōtinual debate, endles war, infinite dissention, commune hinderaunce to vs both, which who soeuer sealeth the greater smarte, we muste bothe acknowledge and finde faute with the miseri, howe so euer we wyll amend the cause. All this had ben wel brought to passe now if your wicked enterprises had not muche hindred their furderaunce, and caused thē to breth against their owne profite, and doute much to fall into an agreement with vs, who can not well nor ciuilie agree amonge our selues. For howe should thei thinke them selues to enter into a good state of comune weal the where there is nothing, but disobedience of subiectes rebellio againe magi-

magistrates, none order of duti, & vn
rulines so confuse of ỹ comunes, that
the lyke may perchaunce be coũde, in
loking ouer ỹ courle of histories, but
the like can not be sene, in remẽbring
thorowe the length of al your times.
But seing thei incõsideratiõ of ỹ best
sawe ỹ hurte to be long in leage with
their hired frendes, & the daunger to
stande in cõtinuall warre w̃ their e-
nemies, thoughte it good coũcell to
ioine w̃ their neighbors in some nigh
sort of frẽdship, both for thaduoiding
of thoppressiõ of ỹ french, which thei
forsaw necessarily to folow, & also for
redeming quietnes, wh ich was to be
gottẽ at no bodies hãde but at ours.
This hope had, & the likelihod grow
ing to a certeintie, & that quietnes ob
teined that both we should wisely de
syre, what cõmoditie had sprong ther
of, what wealth would haue risen to
bothe the parties, what euerlast i nge
frẽdship wold haue ben knit for euer,

what happines had blessed euen the most miserable, theyperience of fewe daies would plainlye haue declared, & proue of wyse heades wolde shortly haue cõcluded. But al this, this al is dashed, & the great towardnes cleane taken awaye, not by their meanes, who sawe what they should do, and knewe what they feared, but by your, by your deuelyshe enterpryses, ỹ horrible voices wherof dyd muche more withdrawe men from agreement, then your obedience and duty would haue entised to frendeshyp. Wherfore ye haue done more hurte, thẽ ye cã make amendes, seyng your duety can not recouer, that your misorder hath brokẽ, and haue loste others quietnes with your owne sturres, & haue marred comune matters, with priuate factions, and so by lacke of wysedome & greatnes of mischiefe, haue brought in losse of hap, and prolonging of trouble.

☞ What saye ye to the frenche, who

promi

promising peace & continuaunce of his leage, dothe contrarye to promise make much of occasions, and seing our weaknes, thinketh it is time, not loking howe true a gentlemans faithe shoulde bee, but seking honor of victory, against honor of fidelitie. And if we had bene strong this yere with quietnes, not broken with discēction, euē the stoutest men wolde haue ben lothest of trouble, not so hastie to geue the onset, where they had knowen al to haue ben fensed, & nothing to be wanting. But what honor is gotten to fight with a sicke man, or what manly prayse is it to beate doune the lame, chiefly to the valiaunt, who entende by force without sutteltye, and by manhoode withoute treason, to get honoure in fielde and the fame of victorie. Sedition is the sickenes of a comune wealth, which is febled and fainted with breach of dissentiō, not able to weld her wealthe by breakynge

king of her limmes, & easeliste taken when it is miserablieste sicke. But whatsoeuer occasion he taketh for aduauntage loke who it is at home that giueth it, and the more losse commeth by the warre, the more thinke your faute to be greuous of it selfe, and odious to other. Ye can not do suche a foule treason at home, but outwarde nations shall ringe of it, and by wise dome iudge vs in discencion feble, whome in agremente they haue felte strong, and therby seke where ỹ tyme of the doinge serueth, although the tyme of the doer serue nothing at all. By this meanes ye see the leages of peace broken, open war proclaimed, the kynges contries inuaded, what thende wyl be, you must nedes iudge, if ye thinke of the time at home, howe ye do not only trouble it, but also almost wholy betraye it. If ye woulde with wickednes, haue forsaken your fayth to your natural contrey, & haue

sought

ſought craftī meanes to haue vtterli betraied it to oure comune enemies, could ye haue hade any other ſpedier waie then this is, bothe to make our ſtrēght weak, & their weakneſ ſtrōg. If ye wold haue ſought to haue ſpi- ted your cōtrey, & to haue pleſed your enemye, & kolow their counſel koꝛ our hindꝛaūce, could ye haue had deuiſed of thē, any thing moꝛe ſhamefull koꝛ vs & ioyful to them. If thei which lie like ſpials, & herkē after likelihodes of thinges to come, becauſe they declare opoꝛtunitie of tymes to theenemie, are to be iudged comune enemies of the contrey, what ſhall we reſonably thinke of you, who do not ſecretly be- wꝛaie ỹ counſels of other, but openly betrai the comune wealth with your owne deedes, and haue as muche as lieth in you, ſoughte the ouerthꝛowe of it at home, whiche if ye had obte- ned at Goddes hande, as he neuer alloweth ſoo hoꝛrible an enterpꝛyſe,

howe

Howe could ye haue defended it from the ouerthrow of other abrode? For is your vnderstandinge of thinges so small, that although ye se your selues not vnfit to get the vpper hande of a fewe gentlemen, ỹ ye be able to beate doune afore ye the kynges power, ye and by chaunce ye were able to do ỹ, would ye iudge your selues by strength myghtie inough to resist the power of outward nations, that for praise sake would inuade ye? Haye thinke truly wyth your selues, that if ye do ouercome, ye be vnsure both by strēgth abrode, and displeasure of honest mē at home, & by the punishmente of the god aboue, and nowe ye haue not yet gotten in dede, that your vaine hope looketh for by phansie, thinke how certeinly ye haue woūded the comune wealthe with a sore stroke, in procuring the frenche by oure weakenes to seeke victory, & by our outward misery to seeke outwarde glorie, with inwarde

ward dishonor, which whatsoeuer thei get thinke it to be longe of you, which haue offered the victory, afore they be gan war, because ye would declare to men herafter bilike, how daungerous it is to make sturres at home, when they do not onely make oure selues weake, but also our enemies stronge.

☞ Beside these thet is a nother sorte of mē, desirous of aduantage, and dis daynfull of our wealth, whose grief is most our greatest hap, and be offēded w̄ religiō, because they be drowned in superstitiō, mē zealed toward god, but not fit to iudge, meaninge better with out knowledge, thē thei iudge bi their meaning, worthier whose ignorance should be takē away, then their wyll should be folowed, whom we shoulde more rebuke for their stubburnes, thē despise for their ignorance. These se yng superstitiō beaten downe, Frelligion set vp, gods word taking place, traditiōs kept in their kinde, differēce

made

made betwene godscõmaundemẽtes and mans learning, the truth of thinges sought out according to christes institution, examples taken of the primitiue churches vse, not at ỹ Bishop of Romes ordinaũce, & true worship taught & will worship refused, do by blindnes rebuke ỹ as bi truth thei should folowe, & by affection folow ỹ as bi knowledge they shuld abhorre, thinkinge vsage to be truthe & scripture to be errour, not wayinge bi the worde, but miscõstruing by costume. And nowe thinges be chaũged to the better, & religiõ trulier apointed, thei se matters go a wrie, which hurteth ỹ whole realme, & they reioyse in thys mischeif, as a thing worthely happened mistaking the cause & slaũdring religiõ, as though ther were no cause whi god might haue punished, if their vsed prokesliõ might styl haue taken place. Thei se not ỹ where gods glorie is trulicst set forth, there ỹ deuil is moste

most busy for his parte, & laboreth to corrupt by lewdnes, ỹ as is gotten out bi the truth, thinking ỹ if it were not blemished at the first, ỹ residue of his falsehead should after lesse preuayle. So he troubleth bi biwaies he cã not plainey withstãd, & vseth subteltie of sophistry, where plaine reason faileth, and perswadeth simple men ỹ to be a cause, which in deede cã not be tried & taken for a cause. So he causeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of sedition, & the doctrine of loue, ỹ sede of dissenciõ, mistaking ỹ thinge, but perswading mens mindes, & abusing ỹ plaine meaning of ỹ honeste, to wycked ende of religions ouerthrowe. The husbande man had not so sone throwen seede in his grounde, but steppeth vp thenemie & he soweth cocle to, and maketh men doute, whether the good housbande had done well or no, and whether he had sowen there good sede or bad.

The

The phãsikful Jewes in Egipt wolde not beleue Jeremy, but thought their plage & their miserie to come by hys meanes, and leauing of Jdolatrie, to be the cause of penurye, wherfore by wylful aduise they entẽded to forsake the Prophets counsell, & thought to serue god most truly, by their toted & accustomed Jdolatry. When ỹ christen men were persecuted in the primitiue church, and daily suffered martyrdome for christes profession, suche sayre season of wether was for thre or iiii. yere together, that the heathẽ iudged thereupon God to be delyghted with their crueltie, and so were perswaded ỹ with the bloude of the martyrs, they pleased god highly. Suche phansies lyghted nowe in papistes & irreligious mens heades, and toyne thinges by chaunce happening together, and concludeth the one to be the cause of the other, and thẽ delyghteth in true worshippers hurte, because

they

thei iudge curſedly ỹ good to be bad, and therfoꝛe reioyſeth in the puniſhment of ỹ godly. Foꝛ thei being fleſhlie iudge by outward thinges, & perceiue not ỹ inward, foꝛ ỹ thei lacke ỹ ſpꝛite, and ſo iudge amis, not vnderſtãding god, what diuerſitie he ſuffereth, to blind ſtil the wilful, & thoꝛow al daũgers, he ſaueth his foꝛechoſen. Thus haue ye geuen a large occaſiõ, to ſtubburne papiſtes both to iudge amis, & alſo to reioyſe in this wicked chaunce, contented with our miſcheif not liking our religion, & thinkinge God dothe punyſhe foꝛ this better chaunge, and haue therby an yl opinion of gods holy truthe confirmed in them by no ſure ſcripture, but by folowing of miſchaunce, which they oughte to thinke to comme foꝛ the pꝛide and ſtubburnes of the people, who doth not accepte gods gloꝛie in good parte, noꝛ geue no due pꝛaiſe to their loꝛde and maker. What ſhould

I saye more: ye hurte euerie way, the daungers be so great, & the perils so many, which do daylie follow your deuelyshe enterprise, ỹ the more I seke in the matter, the more I cõtinually se to sare. And what wordes can worthely declare this miserable beastlines of yours, whiche haue entended to deuide ỹ realme, and arme the one part, for the killing of the other: For euen as concord is not only ỹ health, but also the strength of the realme, so is sedition not onli the weaknes, but also thapostume of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great daunger of recouerie, & corrupteth the whole comune wealth w̃ the rottẽ furie that it hath longe putrified with. For it is not in sedition as in other fautes which being mischeuous of them selues, haue some notable hurt alwaies fast adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hel of fautes, not seuerallí scattered,

tered, but clustered on a lumpe, toge-
ther & cõming on so thicke, ỹ it is vn
possible for a region armed with all
kinde of wisdome, & strength therto,
to auoide the daungers ỹ issueth out
therof. When sedition once breaketh
out, se ye not the lawes ouerthrowen,
the magistrates despised, spoylyng of
houses, murderyng of men, wastyng
of contryes, encrease of disorder, dimi
nyshyng of the realmes strẽgth, swar
myng of vagabondes, scarsitie of la-
borers, & those myschiefes all plente-
ously brought in, whych god is wont
to scorge seuerely w al, warre, dearth
pestylence? And seinge ye haue theefte
and murder, plage & famine, confusiõ
and idlenes lynked together, can ye
looke for anye more mischiefe in one
shameful enterpryse, then ye euidẽtly
see, to growe herein? As for warre al-
though it be miserable, yet ỹ one part
getteth somewhat, & reioyseth in the
spoile, and so goeth lustier away and

other encreaseth his contrey with ri-
ches, or enhaunseth him selfe w̄ glori,
but in seditiō both the partes loseth,
the ouercōmed can not flie, the ouer-
cōmer can not spoile, ẏ more the win-
ner winneth, the more he loseth, the
more that escape, the more infamous
men lyue, al that is gained is scasely
saued the winning is losse, the losse is
destruction both the waste them selues,
& the whole most wasted, the streng-
ning of them selues, the decaie of the
contrey, the striuing for the victorie,
is a praye to thenimie, and shortly to
saye, ẏ hellishe turmoile of sedition, so
far passeth ẏ comune miserie of war,
as to sleye him selfe is more heinous
then to be slaine of an other. O noble
peace, what wealth bringest ẏ in, how
doth al thinges flourishe in felde and
in towne, what forwardnes of religi-
on, what encrease of learninge, what
grauitie in councell, what deuise of
witte, what order of maners, what o-

bedience

bedience of lawes, what reuerence of states, what sauegarde of houses, what quietnes of life, what honor of contreis, what frendship of mindes, what honestie of pleasure, haste thou alwaies mainteined, whose happines we knewe not while now we feele the lacke, and shall learne by misery, to vnderstand plentie, and so to auoide mischeif, bi the hurte that it bringeth & learne to serue better where rebellion is once knowen, and so to liue truly, and kepe the kinges peace. What good state were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but stirred with mischiefe, to seeke youre destruction, hauinge waies to redresse al that was amisse, magistrates most readie to tender all iustice, and pitifull in hearing ỹ poore mens causes, whiche soughte to amende matters more then you can deuise, and readie to redresse them, better then ye could imagine, and yet for a headines ye

coulde not be cõtented, but in despyte of god, who cõmaundeth obedience, & contempt of the kynge, whose lawes seketh your wealth, & ouerthrow of ỹ countrey, whiche naturally we shoulde loue, ye would proudly rise, and do ye wot not what, & amend thinges by re bellió to your vtter vndoing. What state leaue ye vs in nowe? beseeged with enemies, deuided at home, made poze with spoile & losse of our hercest vnozdred & caste doune, with slaughter and hatered, hindred from amendmentes, by our owne deuely she haste, endaungered with sickenesses, bi reason of misorder, layed open to mens pleasures, foz breaking of the lawes, and feebled to suche faintenes, that scasely it wyl be recouered. Wherfoze foz gods sake haue pitie on your selues, consider how miserably ye haue spoyled and destroied and wasted vs all, & if foz desperatenes, ye care not foz youre selues, yet remembze youre

wiues

wyues, your children, your contrey, and forsake thys rebellion with humble submission, acknowelidge your fautes, and tary not the extremitye of the kynges swerde, leaue of with repẽtaunce and turne to your duties, aske God forgeuenes, submitte ye to your kyng, be cõtented for a comune wealthe one or two to die, & ye captaines for the residue sacrifice your selues, ye shall so best attaine ỹ kynges gracious pardon, saue the assemble, and healpe the comune wealthe, & declare your doinges to procede of no stubburnes, but al this mischief to growe out of ignoraunce, which seinge ỹ miserie, would redresse the faute, and so recouer best the blot of your disorder, and stay the great miseries which be lyke to folowe. Thus if ye do not, thinke truly with your selues, ỹ god is angry wyth you for your rebelliõ, the kynges sweard drawen to defend his cõtrey, the cry of the poore to god

against

against ye, the rodmes of the honeste in armoz to vāquyshe ye, your deathe to be at hand, which ye cā not escape hauing god against ye, as he promitteth in worde, the kinges power to ouerthrow ye gathered in the felde, the comune wealthe to beate ye doune with stripes and with curses, the shame of your mischiefe to blemishe ye for euer.

Imprynted at London by John Daye dwellyng ouer Aldersgate, and Wyllyam Seres, dwellyng in Peter Colledge. These bokes are to be sold at the newe shop by the lytle Conduyte in Chepeside.

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